

The original documents are located in Box 34, folder “Carter – Schedules (5)” of the Ron Nessen Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Ron Nessen donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

October 9, 1976

State Democratic Party Fund raiser

Indianapolis, Indiana

Jimmy Carter

Very fine, good to see you. We had a great rally I thought and a tremendous crowd which has been typical of the campaign every since the first debate. I think we've got a good strong momentum going throughout the country. And of course one of the most important things for us to realize what the Democratic Party stands for. The fact that your Congressman, your Senators, your gubernatorial candidates for Lt. Governor and Governor are very important. I don't want to make another long fiery kind of a crowd ralling speech, I think it's good to consider a few things very soberly and your going to be surprised by my speech. It's going to be brief. I think we need two things in government, one is competence. I happen to be a business man and a farmer and an engineer and a physicist and I've had experience as a school board member, as a State Senator and as a Governor and I believe that the American people are competent. I think that we're able to take care of our own affairs. I think that we believe in the work ethic. I believe that we are able to work together in a unified fashion. But we haven't had that experience in our own government in the past eight years. Now Johnson and Kennedy as you know were in office eight years the other sixteen years of the last quarter century we've had Republican Presidents and Johnson and Kennedy were able to demonstrate sound business like management. When Lyndon Johnson went out of office, Richard Nixon inherited a balanced budget. Last year under Gerald Ford we had a 65 billion dollar deficit. It's the highest deficit that we have ever had in our country and ... than all eight years put together when Johnson and Kennedy were in office. Now, that's not an accident but that happens. When Harry Truman was President, he was in office seven years, we had an average of a 2 billion dollar surplus, not a deficit, but it was because our people were at work, our economy was strong, our people had confidence, and there was some ability in our nation for government, industry, labor, agriculture, education, science, to work together toward the future. Our country is so strong that.... obstacle in our way in an incompetent administration we naturally tend to correct our mistakes and to heal our wounds and to tap the tremendous economic strength of our country. So

James Earl Carter
October 9, 1976
Indiamapolis, Indiana

-2-

we do need competence there. With incompetence comes a tendency to have secrecy. Now Gerald Ford has not had a full scale ... press conference since last February. Since he was the nominee of his party he has not had an open press conference of any kind. The only one that he had was an impromptu press conference in the White House with a few reporters and would not permitted his voice to be recorded. Now this is not the kind of campaign that the American people expect and obviously for a few days at least gave the American people an imagine that everything was right in the Ford Administration everything was right in the Republican campaign because they didn't make any apparent mistakes. As you know he would come out of the White House into the Rose Garden, memorize a 90 second speech, make his speech, go back into the White House and that's all the news reporters had to put on the television and it looked like he was very much in control of things. While he would sign a bill in the Oval Office that he had opposed in the last two years, take credit for it, and look like he was managing the nation's affairs. So with incompetence comes an inclination to conceal what's going on in the government. We need an open government. I think you all remember, if your as old as I am, the Franklin Roosevelt fireside chats technique. Well, I intend to restore that next year and I would say about once a month on television, or radio,... and let the people understand what we're going to do about welfare reform, tax reform, government organization or education, or health care, or perhaps Eastern Europe as they struggle to get freedom. That combined with a press conference with tough cross examination from the knowledgeable press corp. every two weeks would insure that the people would always know what I do as President if I make a mistake I will have a strong inclination to correct the mistake. John Kennedy had his frequent White House Press Conference, he got a report from every cabinet member immediately before the Press Conference. He said, if there is anything going wrong in your Dept. I want to know about it because if I get a question I have got to answer the question and that kept his cabinet members on their toes. Well When I was elected the Governor of Georgia we had a horrible buractic mess and we had 300 agencies and we reorganized it. We abolished 278 of them.

James Earl Carter
October 9, 1976
Indianapolis, Indiana

-3--

We had a very simple ... efficient manageable structure that was open. We had the sunshine law forcing it open by law and that's what I intend to do as President so competence is something that is characteristic of the American people that ought to be instituted in government. You can't deliver good health care, you can't have a fair tax structure, you can't have a competent and compassionate welfare program, you can't have a good relationship between federal, state, and local levels of government and private industry with an incompetent government. But that's what we had. I think Republican business leaders who are very very wealthy, quite often they duped into support someone like Gerald Ford but if they looked back into history when they prospered most. It's when the economy has been growing, people are at work, people were happy, people were competent and when the Democrats by the way were in the White House. Now I'm a business man myself and I know what's happen to me with red tape, paper work, intrusion of government in my business, and a general feeling that I don't know what's going to happen next. And quite often I make decisions as a businessman not on what's best for my customers or what's best for me but how to take advantage of some loop hole that has been put into the tax laws that may have been designed for some big shot special interest but just by change applies to me. And quite often you'll have dentists and doctors growing cattle, you'll have cattle men building high rise apartments, you'll have construction engineers making porno movies just because there is a tax loop hole in the tax shelters they can benefit by doing something That kind of thing needs to be changed and the other aspects of government, I'm not giving you a lecture I'm just trying to explain what's on my mind, The other thing about government is compassion. Now compassion in my opinion is not a characteristic of weakness. If somebody is weak and is unsure of himself or herself, they don't have much time to treat others with much concern but somebody who is strong in spirit, strong physically, strong in influence, secure financialness, that's the kind of person that quite often you can see has a genuine concern for others and that's the way government ought to be. Quite often in our country, as you

James Earl Carter
October 9, 1976
Indianapolis, Indiana

-4--

well know, local, state and federal levels, the people who make decisions in gov't are exactly the kind of citizens who don't suffer when there is a mistake. My family doesn't draw a welfare check..... my family didn't suffer. My family doesn't have to depend on a public health system for pervention of disease because I am able finically to pay a private doctor to give me and my family a semi annual or annual physical examination and if I wanted my children to do so, I could by pass the public school system, if I didn't like it. As a matter of fact my children have always gone to the public school system and Amy intends to go to school in Washington D.C. but the point is that we're not the ones that stand in the unemployment line when people are out of jobs and we can accomdate inflation rates to the average retired person or working person can't accomade and that's where insenitivity comes. By a lack of realization that many people of this country don't have fair treatment under our laws. We have a different standard of justice for rich people and poor people. I visited almost every prison in Georiga when I was in Georgia to meet with, and to talk with, and to try to understand those who were in prison. They are black people and white people, they are young people old people, they are well educated people. 35 percent of our prison inmates are retarded in Georgia. They are poor people but there are not any rich people in the prisons in Georgia. There is a different standard in our justice system that is just not right and the pardon of Richard Nixon is just one example of what is a different standard of treating crime. If somebody steals a 30¢ loaf of bread and gets caught, he's gone to prison, If somebody embessales 50,000 dollars from a bank, I guarantee you that he will not go to prison unless it is extornarily circumstances. That ought to be changed and we have a responsibility, those of us who are influential ought to successful in government or Democrats to be both competent and compassionate in dealing with other people. I grew up among poor people. I would say that 10 percent of us where I grew up were whites---90 percent blacks and we need a good welfare system but it ought to be one that holds families together and doesn't seperate families. It ought to be one which has a work incentive built in and not be an encouragement not to work.

When I was a child on the farm during the depression years I got good health care and my family and the interrelationship with doctors and nurses were to prevent disease. We don't even do that in this modern age, the diseases that were prevented when I was young were diptheria and polio and whopping cough, and mumps and measles. They were fatal but now adays there is no trust to prevent disease. The last thing that I want to say is this to illustrate a last point. We ran a survey in Georgia of the ten most severe killers of Georgia people, Cancer was number one, stroke was number two, and all the way down the line. We found that black women in rural counties had 20 times more cancer than white women in other countries simply because they never see a doctor until they know that they are desperately sick. We found also that it only costs \$3.00 to detect a potential stroke victim with a simple cholertrole analysis and a blood pressure test. You can tell somebody that you might have a stroke. Go to your local physician your family doctor and get some simple medication but most people who are poor never have access to medical care until after there are sick and as taxpayers you know how much it costs to take care of someone who is poor or indigent who had a stroke. So what I want to bring to the White House if I am elected and I think that I have a good chance to be elected is a competent government and one that is concerned about the people who need the services of our government.

Jimmy Carter
Notre Dame University
South Bend, Indiana
October 9, 1976

First may I say how proud I am to be at Notre Dame first of all, may I say how proud I am to be at Notre Dame; and particularly because of what this Univeristy has always been, what it has meant to the consciousness of our country, its constant probing for a better means to tap the inate goodness of America; and especially has this been personified in the last twenty-five years by the great leadership of Father Ted Hessburg. He's a man who has been an inspiration to many of us; those of us who lived in the south during the Civil Rights struggle days, or the early part of the Civil Rights struggle days... struggling on....have had a great admiration for him. I know about his concern for the less fortunate, the weaker, the under-dogs, and I hope you'll carry this same concern into the Notre Dame-Georgia Tech football game that's going to take place in the next few days

.....

Our country has come along way in the last two hundred years. We're still a young country; and a lot of us look back on the history of our nation with a great deal of appreciation for the wisdom and a deep commitment of our founding fathers. We tend to think that George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams were all perfect. The concept we had of our country at that time was one without blemish, a deep commitment, and , perhaps, for the first time, a real concern about human rights, liberty, freedom, on the one hand, equality, opportunity, on the other. Down through the ages those have often been quite incompatible. When you had complete liberty-- the strong overpowered the weak; when you guaranteed equality--the government had to take away the freedom that accrues in a competitive

society. Well, we've laid the groundwork for that, but our ascension was not perfect; it was based on the concepts of slavery...of black people, and it was a hundred year before we cast off that millstone around our neck....woman didn't have a right to vote, young people didn't have a right to vote, the people didn't have a chance to choose their own United States Senators directly and down through the years we've had a chance to make a change for a better society for ourselves. We've had times of success, we've had times of failure....times of legitimate pride, times of legitimate embarrassment and shame. In the last few years we've suffered as a country. And I think that all of us realize that the question of supporting human rights throughout the world is a very difficult one. It requires a balancing of tough realism on the one hand and idealism on the other. Of our understanding the world as it is and the world as it ought to be. The question, I think, is whether in recent years we haven't been too pragmatic, too cynical, and, as a consequences, have ignored those moral values that have always distinguished the United States of America from other countries. Over the years our greatest source of strength have come from our basic, priceless, values which are embodied in our Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, our Bill of Rights, involving our beliefs of religion, freedom of speech, freedom of expression, movement, and an unchanging commitment to basic human dignity; although we recently have not lived up to our ideals. I know of no great nation in history that has more often conducted itself in a moral, unselfish, generous manner abroad, and provided more freedom and opportunity to its own citizens at home; still in recent years we've had reason to be troubled; we've stumbled into the cragmires of Vietnam and Cambodia, and Chila, and Cyprus,

and we've responded inadequately to human suffering...that we recognized, in places like Bangladesh, Undria, and the Sawhill area of Northern Africa; and other undeveloped, and sometimes struggling and starving nations. We have allowed virtually unlimited sales of Americans' weapons overseas...as I said on the debate the other night, we have become the arms merchant of the world. This is a policy that is both cynical and dangerous; and, we in effect, have condoned the efforts of some Arab countries to circumvent the commitment of our Bill of Rights and boycott American businesses who trade with Israel, or who have Jewish owners or managers in businesses themselves. This is an unprecedented thing that we've accepted; we've built proposes and denials of human freedom in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union. Now I don't say these things are simple issues but there are practical, effective, ways in which our own power can be used to elevate human suffering around the world. We should begin by letting it be known that any nation, whatever its political system, if it deprives its people from basic human rights, if that will help to shape our own peoples' attitudes toward that country, if other nations want our friendship and support they must understand that we want to see basic human rights respected. We must at the same time be realistic, as John Kennedy said, and I quote, we must keep the world safe for diversity, we should not insist on identical governments in all nations of the world who accept our standards, exactly, but we cannot look away when a government torchers its own people, or jails them for their beliefs, or denies minorities fair treatment, or the right to immigrate, or the right to worship. And as you know, Father Hessburg served on the Commission on Civil Rights at the time when the south was struggling to grant equality of

opportunity, the right to vote, the right to hold a job, the right to buy homes to black people. As I said recently in Salt Lake City, and as I've said many times in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, if anything ever happens to my wife, myself, and my family, this was back in the Civil Rights time, and to guarantee the black people a chance for equality, we still have a long way to go for our country but we're making progress; but now I think it time for us to reassert those basic commitments at home, and also let them be undeviating guiding light for us abroad. The world looks for leadership and when there is a vacuum of leadership it's going to be filled somehow. I'm a nuclear engineer, I'm a physicist, I'm also a politician and I know that when a vacuum is there it's an ... thing in politics and that vacuum is going to be filled. It's going to be filled either by freedom or slavery, with hope or with despair, with democracy and liberty or with dictatorships and I would like to see the world leadership vacuum filled without domination but with inspiration from our own country. We must reaccess our own foreign aid program to make sure that when money does leave our nation it goes to those who need it most as Richard Gardner one of the great analysts of the United Nations said, I am not in favor of taxing the poor people in our rich country and continuing to send them the rich people in the poor country. But there are many needs that can be met with sound management and with an undeviated commitment to alleviate suffering, not only food but the quality of our environment and the health of people around the world can be aided to a substantial degree by leadership and by direct aid from my own country. We now spend 3/10's of one percent of our gross national product on foreign aid. Other countries spend much more, five or seven tenths of one percent, the Soviet Union only one tenth of one percent. So all of the nations in a multi national, if provided proper leadership, could be

Jimmy Carter
Notre Dame University
October 9, 1976
South Bend, Indiana

successful in alleviating a great deal of the suffering and the deprivation that exists. We ought to speak out forcefully when ever there is human torture in the world and I believe that this would not only restore not only the place of our own people in our own government but also help to alleviate that torture, even in the most totalitarian nations of all. We should insist of the concept of majority rule. In Africa, we've come in late. For a long time we were committed under National Security Memorandum 39 to supporting minority white governments. Only this election year has our nation moved, in any degree, to support the long standing effort to guarantee majority rule in Africa and there are many other places of deprivation in the world which haven't yet experienced the concept of majority rule, Cyprus is one that we need to address in a humanitarian way and with a well balanced commitment to the preservation of peace which has helped to stamp out religious persecution. Many people understand this, the Jews who want to leave the Soviet Union, ^{THERE ARE} 5 million Baptists in the Soviet Union who have felt the oppression because of their religious commitments. We ought to stand staunchly against to deliberate violation of the law. In the last few years we've seen a disgraceful spectacle of our own government condoling, sometimes even encouraging, multi-national corporations engaging in bribery of foreign officials. This is a disgrace of our country. It ought not to be permitted to continue. The United Nations passed the Genocide Convention twenty five years ago. We've still not ratified that convention and also a basic convention on the protection of human rights, civil rights, we've still not ratified that convention and we ought to do the best we can to stamp out international terrorism as well. There are many things that we can do and I believe that this center here that shifts its goals from stricter domestic civil rights, which is still very important to a broader concept of all human rights, I hope that this will be done

Jimmy Carter
Notre Dame University
October 9, 1976
South Bend, Indiana

expediciously and I'll help if I'm elected President, It can be a beacon to our own country and to the world for a constant assessment of what can be done in this world that we acknowledge to be imperfect. There is one other area that I would like to mention this morning, wherein we can tap the great resources of our country in the defense of human rights, yes, but that's only one aspect of an area of volunteerism can come in. I would just like to take a few minutes to talk to you about that subject. It's a subject I think has always been of particular interest to young people, who's idealism who has not been dampened by long years of frustration. If I'm elected President I hope to bring a new spirit of optimism, patriotism, and self sacrifice to American. That happen in 1933 when Franklin Roosevelt became President, and it happened again in 1961, under John Kennedy, and I believe that it can happen again under a Carter Administration if we could succeed in restoring public trust in our own government. I hope that one manifestation of this renewed national spirit would be a new era of volunteerism with Americans working to help others on an unprecedented scale. We saw an example of this when John Kennedy began the Peace Corp. We all remember the excitement of that era. My mother, at the age of 68, joined the peace corp., and went to India to serve for two years coming back after she was 70 years old. I know what it meant to our community and our family and her life just to feel that she was doing something worth while, even at that advanced age. I'd like to see this concept revitalized along whatever grounds are most pertinent and appropriate in today's international reality but even more importantly I would like to see an outpouring of volunteer effort within our own country. We all know their needs, very deep needs, I worshiped this morning at the Retardation Center at the edge of your campus. I know that many citizens participate in that volunteer effort, take care of retarded children that are severely afflicted, and there is an

Jimmy Carter
Notre Dame University
October 9, 1976
South Bend, Indiana

outpouring that needs to be made in schools, and hospitals of all kinds, and day care centers, in mental institutions and prisons and law enforcement agencies, parole and probation efforts, on Indian reservations, in local, state, and federal government agencies and in many other places. The potential volunteers are there too, people of all ages, students, housewives, business people, retired people, and many others. What has been lacking in the past is motivation. It is not enough for a President to call for volunturism. He must paint a climate in which our people want to help others and are proud to help their country in the process. We don't need a new federal bureaucracy to do this. We must use the structure of existing agencies and we will also stress and support of existing private volunteer programs. What's needed is Presidential leadership that will encourage and honor volunteer service. I think that retired people and young people in particular are a vast untapped resource. We now spend countless hours in idleness and our personal diversions of many kind. I'd like to see us diverate some of our time and some of our energy in the helping of others and I believe that Americans will do this gladly if volunteer work is given proper respect and proper recognition. There is much that needs to be done in our society, more than government itself can ever hope to accomplish but there is little that cannot be done if the Americans people roll up our sleeves and set out to do these things. If I become President I will make every effort to channel the idealism, the compassionate and the energies of our good people and the good works of which we can all be proud. Americans pride ourselves on self reliance, we pride ourselves on the inheriance of unchanging principles, we pride ourselves on the ability to achieve unity within a concept of diversity. American is not a melting pot, we don't come here and lose our identity

Jimmy Carter
Notre Dame University
October 9, 1976
South Bend, Indiana

as we live among one another, it's more like a beautiful mosaic where every person is an individual and where we can harness our common efforts when we have the inspiration and the ... without which our lives could be more meaningful. We've got to tap this tremendous strength in the two areas that I have covered briefly with you today, One a renewed commitment to civil rights, human rights, domestic, and around the world, to let our country once again, as Fallus Henchberg once said at lunch time, be a beacon light of hope for all human kind and secondly we must tap the tremendous resources of the 215 million Americans who don't serve in government, who may not get paid, but they want to make our own lives more meaningful in the service of others. That's a tremendous resource of strength that waiting to be used. Again I want to thank you for letting me come

NO DATE

Jimmy Carter

Garfield (Court?)

Indianapolis, Indiana

DATE TYPED - 10/10/74

Thank you very much. Thank you. Thank you very much, everybody. First of all I appreciate that fine introduction by Senator Burch Bayh who shortly after he withdrew from the Presidential Race, he joined me in the factorship lines in Indiana and help to encourage the people in this great state to give me your support in the primary, which you did, you put me over the top in the primary and I want to ask you to put me over the top in November, will you do that for me. Thank you. Also, I want to say just a word about Larry Conrad who took office as Sect. of State in 1970. Under his administration, the effect of that office, and the productivity of that office has increased 300 percent but he's done it with only a 6% increase in expenditures. That's the kind of tough competent business like management that any government needs. It's the kind that I tried to bring to the Governorship of Georgia and I hope that you'll help him on November 2 also In closing I want to say this. I need some good help in Washington when I get into the White House and I hope you'll keep Vance Hartke this year and keep Senator Burch Bayh along time at least for the next eight years so we can have a good country again. How many of you would like to see Mr. Ford answer questions at a press conference or come out and let the people understand his answers to all of the complicated answers that he has given. He's provided more questions than answers in the debate. How many of you think that he has an open administration. I think that there is just about as much openness in the Ford Administration as there is freedom in Eastern Europe. Mr. Ford doesn't worry about inflation. Jack, and Chip, and Jeffery, and Rosey, and I can live could live on \$5.00 a week, I wouldn't worry about it either, I'll tell you that. We've got a country that in the eight years has been deeply hurt. We've seen a great increase among the number of people in this nation that don't have jobs. In the last two years, since Mr. Nixon went out of office, we've added two and one half million Americans to the unemployment rolls. In the last three months 500,000 more Americans are unemployed. Last month, the inflation rate again reached

Jimmy Carter
Garfield
Indianapolis, Indiana

double digit, about 11 percent per year. We've had gross mismanagement. Last year in 1975, we had a 65 billion dollar deficit in spending the taxpayers money above what we took in. It's the highest dificit in the history of our country, more than all eight years put together under Johnson and Kennedy. I think it's time to have a balanced budget. I think it's time to control inflation and the only way to do both of those things is to put the American people back to work and we're going to have a jobs administration next January if you will help me get there. Now, I'm concerned about those horrible figures, 2 and 1/2 million, 500,000, 65 billion dollars, they sound bad enough but what really hurts are the American human beings whose lives and whose families have been distroyed by the Ford Nixon Administration policies. When a mother or father have had jobs for 15 or 20 years and all of a sudden lose their jobs go on unemployment compensation for a number of months and then stand in their first welfare line, it does something for the self respect of an able bodied American who no longer is able to find a job. It begins to tear the families apart. It separates children from parents and it creates a disharmony in our society and when the family is not strong, that's when government has to move in and start managing the affairs of our lives. We have a strong country, I don't believe anybody in our nation has traveled more than I have, met with more people, made more speeches, answered more questions, in the last two years. I've been all over the country, and when I began I didn't have a built in nationwide campaign organization. I didn't have very much money. I didn't hold public office. Not many people knew who I was, I'll bet not even 1 percent of this crowd had ever heard my name before January 1975. But I and my family and other volenteers began going from one home to another, sometimes we'd invite the whole neighborhood and only three or four people would show up. We'd go into a labor hall and maybe 10 or 12 people would come to a meeting. So we began to go into factorship lines, to shopping centers, we began to go into barber shops and beauty parlors, up and down the street in farmers markerts, livestock

Jimmy Carter
Garfield , , , , ,
Indianapolis, Indiana

-3-

sales barns, talking to people, and listening to the voice of America, Americans like you who don't want anything selfish out of government but just want to be treated fairly, who want to have a decent government that's open, that you can understand and control, who doesn't put its nose into your own affairs, and who has fairness as a major thrust of its policy. We don't have a fair government now. I don't like a system of justice that will take a working person if they commit a crime and put them in jail and take a big shot that commits a more serious crime and let them go free, that's not fair. Our income tax structure is not fair, it's a disgrace to the human race. The surest incomes to be taxed is the income earned from manual labor. There are not any hidden secret loop holes for someone who draws a paycheck every two weeks or retirement check every two weeks but there are secret hidden loop holes for everyone else. In the last reporting period, there were 3200 people in this country that made over 50,000 dollars in income in one year, 1074, they paid not a nickel in income tax. There were over 800 people that made over 100,000 in one year and there were about 250 people that made over 200,000 in income in one year and paid not a nickel in income tax. When they don't pay their taxes, do you know who pays their taxes for them?? You do. If you elect me in November, when I get to the White House next January, we're going to start reforming our income structure to make it fair for a change and you can depend on that. I believe in a government that understands people and which has a heart and which is also competent. Our government buracrity now is not competent. It's a wasteful and confused mess. Alot of people say that government can't be managed in our country. I don't agree with that. I'm a farmer. I've worked all of my life. My people have been in Georgia 210 years and nobody in my farther's family ever finished high school before I did. I balanced my family budget. I balanced my farm budget. When I was Governor of Georgia I was in office four years, we had a balanced budget. We left a surplus in the treasury and I intend to manage that affairs of the United States when I become President. We're going to reorganize the Executive Branch of Government to make it efficient,

economical, and manageable for a change and we're going to have a United States with a balanced budget before the next four years are over and you can depend on that also. Now I don't want anybody to get concerned who thinks that we're going to rob the people to balance the budget. Let's go back into history just a few minutes and point out the things that are important to remember. The first election that I remember I was eight years old in 1932 in the depth of the depression and Franklin Roosevelt who was a rich man was elected President. He was afflicted by polio and he understood working people who were handicapped who didn't have jobs. He started putting our people back to work and he said to the Congress, I believe that it's only fair to have a minimum wage law and a lot of people were shocked and he put forward a proposition for a 25¢ an hour minimum wage law. Over 90% of the Republicans in the Congress voted against paying an adult man or woman 25¢ for an hour of manual labor. Franklin Roosevelt also said that we need security in our old age, a chance for self respect and he put forth the idea of social security. There were 95 Republicans in the House of Representatives, 94 of them voted against social security. Later Harry Truman came along. He was a common man like us, but he was an uncommon President. We knew who the President was when he was in office. When we made a mistake, he took the blame for it. When a major decision had to be made, he made the decision. He had a sign on his desk. Does anybody remember what it said? Right, the buck stops here. Well nowadays the buck is all over Washington looking for a place to stop. Nobody knows who is in charge. When I get back to the White House, with your help, I'm going to put that sign right back on the desk and if things go wrong, you can look to me. If a decision has to be made, I'll be the President. If the F.B.I. or the C.I.A. violates the law I'll correct that defect. When I make a decision about who ought to be a federal judge or diplomat, if that's not a good person it will be my fault. You will not have to search all over Washington trying to find somebody responsible for wasted money in the medicare program and for an absence of adequate health care and for

unfair tax laws. I'll be the President you can look to me and I'll be responsible to you. The 1948 election was a very important one and later on we had 1960 and John F. Kennedy whipped Richard Nixon and then along came Lyndon Johnson and they managed the affairs of our government very well. Harry Truman was President seven years. They didn't have a deficit. They had an average surplus of 2 billion dollars a year. When Lyndon Johnson went out of office and turned the office over to Richard Nixon, Richard Nixon inherited a balanced budget but the only way that you can balance the budget, the only way that you can control inflation, the only way that you can give our people a good health care program, the only way that you can build good roads, protect the quality of the environment and have a strong economy is if our people are back to work and if we get our people working again we'll have those needs met, we'll have the budget balanced, and you'll be proud of our administration once again and you can depend on that too. Did anybody watch the debate the other night?? I'm glad you watched it, next Friday is going to be another good debate and I'm going to watch it. It's going to be between Fritz Mondale and Robert Dole and I think you'll see a good comparison between those two men and in the following week we'll have the final debate between myself and Mr. Ford. I think all of you saw the kind of leadership that Mr. Ford provides when he stood there alone, without his advisors, without Henry Kissinger, and had to answer questions about foreign affairs. He said that he has been working hard for the last year to control the proliferation of spread of atomic weapons. The two U.S. Senators on my right have been there trying to help pass legislation that would stop the spread of atomic weapons and they know that Mr. Ford has stopped that legislation and the statement that he made in the debate was not accurate. Also Mr. Ford said that he was trying to stop the Arab boycott which is a disgrace to our country. What the Arab boycott is not against oil, the Arab boycott is this. The Arabs say to an American country, including those in Indiana and Georgia, if you trade with Israel or if you have American Jews who own stock or control part of your company we will not do business with you. This lets a foreign country tear apart and bypass the American Constitution and the

Bill of Rights and Mr. Ford has tried to block Congressional legislation that would have stamped out this disgraceful thing and he then said that tomorrow I'm going to open up the files and let you know what countries have participated, the next day the Secretary of Commerce says we're not going to do anything such thing. Again there is a very serious question raised about leadership of Mr. Ford and the most disgusting thing he said to me was there is no Soviet domination in Eastern Europe, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, are all free nations. Mr. Ford has just been over to Poland last year and I don't think he understood what's going on over there, I guess that he thought that those tanks over there belong to Poland when they actually belonged to the Soviet Union. We've got to have a President who's not only sensitive to the needs of people who hunger for freedom overseas but we've also got to have a President sensitive to the needs to Americans who want good health care, fair taxes, and who want to go back to work. That's what we're going to have next year. And let me say this in closing, we're got a great country. We need not be concerned about its future. As I said, I've traveled all over this nation and I can tell you without any doubt at all that our economic strength is still there, God bless our country with great open fields and great mineral deposits, and pure streams and adequate air and he gave us an opportunity to be strong economically and the Republican Administration has torn part of our strength down but it's still there waiting to be developed. We also still have the best system of government on earth. Richard Nixon didn't hurt our system of government, Watergate didn't hurt our system of government, the C.I.A. didn't hurt our system of government, Angolia, Chile, didn't hurt our system of government but we've got to know that the system of government that we have is a basis on which we can predicate answers to complicated questions, correct our mistakes, bind ourselves back together in a spirit of unity, and approach the future with confidence and the greatest resource of all that we have in this country, is our 215 million Americans who haven't lost faith in ourselves, who are strong, powerful, dedicated, idealistic, who believe in hard work, who trust our government when it trusts them, and who are eager now to restore the precious things that we've

Jimmy Carter

Indianapolis, Indiana.

lost. How many of you believe it's time for a change in the White House in Washington??
 Thank You. So do I, So do I. If you'll help me, if you'll help me and vote for the
 Democratic ticket in November 2, then come January 20 we all together candidates
 and voters even Democrats and Republicans, Americans all will correct the terrible
 embarassment and shame that's come on our government with this Republican administration
 We'll restore what we've lost. We'll put our people back together, We'll strip away
 the secrecy in our government. We'll have a good health care system, We'll have a
 good education system. We'll have some cooperation for a change between the White
 House and the Congress. We're repair the damage that's been done to our country and
 we'll prove to the rest of the world that's very important but more important we'll
 prove to our own people in this country that we still live in the greatest nation
 on earth, the United States of America. I love you all, you help me and I'll help
 you. .

Jimmy Carter
October 10, 1976
Polish American Congress, Polaski Dinner
Conrad Hilton Hotel
Chicago

.....other distinguished public servants from Illinois and Chicago, I'd like to add one comment to what the Bishop said, this is a local affair but national and international affairs spring from individual human beings who make up families who make up neighborhoods, who make up communities, who make up states, who make up nations; and there's no difference because once a government represents what people are then the government be great. I'm very glad to be able to come here and be with you tonight; my wife and my daughter, Amy, nine years old, have already been introduced. I also have relative, a sister-in-law and a brother-in-law; my sister-in-law is from Estonia. Her name is Anna Ellic Smith and she and her husband are here and I'd like for you to meet Anna who was born in Estonia....and Anna, would you stand up please. I'm not going to make a political speech tonight, I'm sure you'll be glad to hear that. I've made enough in the last few days..... I've come to join with you..and, discussing some matters of important to me; I think important to you as well....to join in honoring Poski, who worked his way up through the ranks of the iron works to become a leader of many working people, to join , to serve in the Illinois State Senate, and for the last ten years has been a justice in the State of Illinois Appeal Court, and in joining honoring also George Gene McCoski, the Presiding Judge of the First Municipal District of Cook County; they represent a heritage that would make me proud and a heritage that makes you proud of achievements by Poles and Polish Americans typical of what has been throughout our nation's history in government, literature, science, business, and the arts...your young Congressman, Daniel Rouski; he a man, a model look, if elected to help me understand the special problems who seek adequate health care. Not long ago I was talking to the chairman of Ways and Means committee about health and about other means of delivering services to people who are destitute and who are in need....he told me, if you want an expert

on the subject, who understands government, who also understands people when you get to Chicago, talk to Dan; and he's already begun to submit to me advice and counsel that I can use. We also think of the great scientist, Marie Curry, great musicians like Paderewski, great writers like Joseph Conrad, great military leaders like Colski and ^{Kosciusko} Costeusco, and great athletes like ^{Carl Yastrowski Stan Musiel} ~~Carl Strinski~~ and Stan Musla.

A few people that I've relied on in this whole campaign to help me with these two key issues, just coincidentally happened to be from Polish families; for foreign affairs the only man who came to San Francisco to brief ^{me} before the last debate was ^{Zbigniew Beezinski} Vigue Berski, who is an expert on that subject and he helped me a great deal.

..... and before the first debate the only man who came to Plains, Georgia to brief me on economic affairs was Jerry Jesinauski, ^{owski} ... just a coincident, but I think it shows an increasing acceptance in government, in politics, of wisdom and of justice, and the understanding and comprehension, of people in this country and a chance to terminate the ^{subtle} sutal discrimination that quite often has been an obstacle for the full involvement of great leaders who have come from families originated in Poland. Tonight I'd like to talk about two or three things to you that affect all of us; one is a breakdown in relationship between government and people. We now have seven and a half million Americans unemployed. The young heritage like mine, even your own religious beliefs like mine, are predicated on the hope that people who are able to work ought to have a chance to work. In the last two years alone since President Nixon has left office we've had two and a half million Americans added to the unemployment rolls. In the last three months five hundred thousand Americans became unemployed. This is bad enough just as a horrible statistic of all the developed nations of the world we have the highest unemployment rate; greater of that than England, greater than that of Germany, greater than that of France, twice as great even of Italy, almost four times as great as the unemployment rate in Japan; and that hurts individual people who believe in self-reliance and who believe in human pride and who believe in a chance to take whatever talent God gives us and to use it

in a worthy way. We know the first ones who lose a job are the ones who felt the burden of discrimination and are the last ones hired back when unemployment drops... of those who suffer the burden of discrimination. And it hurts a man or woman who might have been employed for fifteen or twenty years, for the first time to be drawing an unemployment check and then in a few months then to stand in a welfare line and start financing the family's affairs with a welfare check. For an ablebody person that's a very devastating thing. And this translates to the breakdown of the family structure. I've given several speeches lately about American families, and I know that when a family becomes weak, when it's torn apart because of a lack of respect for the parents or lack of opportunities for children to leave the home with pride to earn their own living, and a structure of the community or a state or a nation is damaged, government intrudes when families are not strong, when families can't provide for food, clothing, housing, health, education, on their own, then the government must come in and take over the responsibility, but it ought to properly be that the mother and father and once the family begins to deteriorate the communities in the neighborhood go next; so the strength of the families, which have always been an intergradual part of your lives is crucial to a nation, unemployment is bad, inflation comes in quietly and robs us all. Sometimes we don't even know it. Last month, in September, we experienced another double digit inflation period, increasing an annual rate of about 11%, and for someone who is retired and seeking security alone, and human dignity, to have one's lifesavings only worth 89% as much at the end of the year, or a 5% savings account experience the loss, not a gain, of 6%, is a devastating loss. We now only have a third of the families in our country who are able to own their own homes. Eight years ago 50% could own their own homes. This again tears apart the stability of the family opportunity. It took us a long time to reach a point where families in this country could own their own homes, but the price of a home has increased \$16,000 in the last eight years alone and interest rates have

increased 50%. I think all of you know too the problem with transportation, and supplies, but the thing that we've lost recently is the spirit of America. I'd like to talk with you for just a few minutes about foreign policy. We're not the only people who want to stand for something in the world, freedom in Eastern Europe was born in Poland with the Constitution of 1791. Since that time, Poland has endured many rulers, but its people has never lost their intent~~s~~ desire to be free, and it is this spirit that under the history of the country that also the music of your country which has been an inspiration to all human beings in this world who sought liberty and freedom, the desire for freedom brought your parents and grandparents, perhaps, to this country. In my own state, one of the original thirteen states, has always revered the name of George ^{Kosciusko} ~~Costeusco~~. My own daughter-in-law Karen comes from ^{Pulaski} ~~Polaski~~ County, Georgia, Parkersville, and I hope you'll visit it some day, to see what its like throughout. That commitment for freedom brought Costcusco and Polaski to this country, to America, to fight and to die young in our war for independence and for freedom. That spirit lead free Polish soldiers to Monocoseno where they were the first Allied regiment to plant their colors in one of the fierces battles of World War II. Only a grave is there in those remote mountain areas is a plack, which bears this inscription, "These Polish Soldiers, for our freedom and for yours, gave their bodies to Italy, their hearts to Poland, and their souls to God," and that spirit lives on. It lives among you, and among the people that your bound to by ties of history and affection who still live in Poland. It/ time that we had a President who understands the facts about Eastern Europe and about the whole world, it's time we had leaders who will speak up for freedom in Eastern Europe and also in the rest of the world. When I was here in Chicago to make a major speech last March, I said that Eastern Europe must never, can never be a stable region until eastern European countries regain their independence. I said then that the Soviet Union must understand that any United States ~~détente~~ depends upon recognizing the legitimate aspirations of the people, of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania,

and the rest of eastern Europe. Those are the statements I made last March; and I still believe that. We don't want a Cold War, we want to cooperate with the Soviet Union in order to avoid the horrors of ~~net~~^{nuclear} conflict, but if I'm elected President I will take four, or five, or six steps to show that we do care about freedom in eastern Europe . First, we'll insist that the Soviet Union comply with the guarantee of human rights contained in the Helsinki Agreement. There should be freedom of movement in eastern Europe. There should be freedom of expression, freedom of families to reunite with their relatives overseas and access to them with gifts that are not changed into Rubles to be taxed 30%. We've had a deterioration and not an improvement since the Helsinki Agreement was signed. That Agreement must be enforced. There has to be access to those who live in Poland from the free world, and we must insist secondly that the Soviet Union, as agreed to in the Helsinki Agreement, cease jamming Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, Third: we should work for an expanded network of human and commercial ties between the countries of the east and the countries of the west; ties that will keep the alternative of freedom always open in the eastern European countries. They must recognize that no matter how destitute they maybe a freedom at this moment, the legitimate hope to access behind the Iron Curtin is always open to them. We must be sure at home that we never yield to the principles of our Constitution and Bill of Rights. Recently we see an example of that of our country toward American businesses. You can't trade with us if you do business with Israel, you can't trade with us is you have American Jews who own stock in your company or help to manage its affairs. These are the deprivations of liberty, its a circumvention of our Bill of Rights; it's been condoned by our own government leaders. This times its Jews, later it maybe others who could be suffering because of their religious beliefs or their ethnic background. We must never again permit this to be done. Our country also must constantly be concerned about the preservation of human rights throughout the world, not just in our own country, not in just eastern Europe but in Cyprus; also in South America and

Chile, and here in this nation where human beings are torched the American voice must be there--not let the world forget, and last: I'd like to make sure, as President, that I do nothing by deed or word to give the slightest indication that we'll ever accept Soviet domination over countries that want to be free, and you can depend upon that.....

Today I made a speech at Notre Dame, at noon, and I had a quiet talk with Father Hessberg, who has been the President of that University for twenty-five years. He pointed out to me that many centuries ago a question was asked to a wiseman, how do you prepare to be a leader of the country? What are the qualifications to be a prime minister or president? And the answer came back to the wiseman, just two words, be human. The strength of leaders to overcome their ability, to tap the experience, the judgment, the commonsense, the intelligence, the idealism, the hope, the sense of brotherhood and compassion and love, patriotism toward ones country that exists in the minds and hearts of free men and women everywhere, and those who want to be free, and to the extent that we here in political life can stay close to the people and tap their strength and their wisdom, to that extent, our country will be strong and wise. It takes a lot of humility when a nominee of a Party to stand in a factoryship line and face the people at six o'clock, five o'clock in the morning, and say can I have your vote, because the approval is not unanimous, but that was an enjoyable experience for me. My campaign has never been an ordeal, it's never been a sacrifice. It's been a challenging and an exhilarating experience, and it has inspired me to reach for a standard of excellence and greatness that can only be derived from those that I hope to represent; and if I can be a good and successful nominee of my Party, I believe that I can only be a good and successful President if I can tap the great strength of the people of this country.

Now, we in this country, are not a melting pot. We've had people come to our country from all, most every country in the world, but we don't relinquish our individuality. We never give up the laws that we have for our ethnic heritage, or history, or

customs, or traditions, so America is not a melting pot; it's more a beautiful mosaic for different kinds of people, for different customs, for different dreams, and different memories, fit together and share our strength for a high and common goal. There lies the uniqueness of America and we derive our unique spirit too from a common bond that brought us here, a search for human freedom. We ought never to forget those facts, we should never relinquish our individuality, we should never be ashamed of our heritage--be always proud and always remember that it doesn't matter when we came to this country, it may have been two years ago, it may have been twenty years ago, it may have been two hundred ago--or even longer. What matters is why we came here and what we do when we come, and what our lives can mean to give our children a greater grasp of the world, a realization of our place in God's kingdom and a hope that our lives can be meaningful as fellow human beings who search as we have for a fuller realization of individuality, freedom, liberty, common idea of purpose and without discrimination, truth, justice, honor, and equality of opportunity and what is still, and I hope always will be, the greatest nation on earth. Thank you very much.....

Jimmy Carter
October 10, 1976
Rauue Tabernacle Baptist Church
Chicago

..... thank you.....as.....Reverend Doctor Rauueels and distinguished citizens of this great community, as Andrew Young has said, brothers and sisters on shipper's land, I'm glad to be with you this afternoon. I believe we have a nation that can be well served by Governor Mike Walter and Lieutenant Govenor Neil Hartagan; by Attorney General , by Mayor Richard Daley, and by Congressman Metcalf, and by Fred Mondale and by Jimmy Carter..... and, if you believe this, are you ready to fight for it on election day..... ya.....as I said in Salt Lake City this week, as I said in Birmingham, Alabama, and in the southern part of Mississippi, and in Louisiana, Georgia , Carolines, Florida and Tennessee, the best thing that ever happened in the southland in my life was the passages of the Civil Rights Acts, the right of people the right to vote, to hold a job, to buy a house, to go to school, and to participate in public affairs. I believe in a country where freedom and equality exist..... do you agree with that ?..... Are you willing to fight for it on election day? I think you all observed about ten years ago, or a little more, when Martin Luther King, Jr., Andy Young, and many others went about the country, put their lives on the line, to seeek the right of many black people to go to the polls on election day and vote.....that the precious possession that your people and many others here and around the world have not always had, some still don't have it. And that's the only way in a free nation for us to correct the wrongs, for us to answer the idfficult questions, for us to meet the needs of those who are not powerful, we are not rich, we are not influential, in our society, and I believe that in our country that we have that right and it's one that basic to us...it ought to be preserved, and it ought to be used but it's easy to let it slip out of our hands. In the last twenty-four years we've had Republicans in the White House sixteen years....sixteen years, because

those families who depend on government to treat them fairly, to meet their needs, they'd rather not go to the polls to vote. As Congressman Metcalf said, the powerful, the rich, the influential, they know their bread comes from....it comes from the Republican Party, there going to be there election day to vote, they never miss; and they've been there too long. It's time to change those things. A lot of people say, well, a President is just one person...one person can't change a whole nation. But I want you to go back to January 1969 when Lyndon Johnson left the White House and Richard Nixon came in, the laws didn't change, the Constitution didn't change, the Congress didn't change but the country changed.....the country changed..... and it changed for people like you and like those who look to you for leadership; the ones who lost the most were the black, and those who don't speak good English, and those without good homes, and ones without good health care, and the ones whose children don't have good education, and the ones who are first ones unemployed, ... the last one hired and the first fired, the ones whose paycheck inflation eats up, the ones who get cheated on the income tax, the ones who make the crime go to prison while the big shots go to a country club....that'a got to be changed ---- if'a you'll hep me, we'll change it.....So I believe that one President can make a difference. Franklin Roosevelt made a difference, Harry Truman made a difference, John Kennedy made a difference, Lyndon Johnson made a difference, and I guarantee if you'll help me, Jimmy Carter going to make a difference..... It's not just a President can make a difference.....every one of you can make a difference. I remember the 1960 election had just a few votes...been changed

Carter Poll
October 3, 1976

Private treatment for JODY POWELL and PAT CADELL, Best Western Motel,
Mericas, Georgia, October 3, 1976..

..... hope that you will be to and we'll be happy to respond to some
questions primarily in that area but others if they are quite pertinete.

FAT CADELL ← (HECTOR) OK. Let me explain what we've been doing. The race as you know
has been a fairly confusing perticularly in terms of surveys. Over the last several
weeks there has been a very volitle situation. We've seen fairly probably
as extensive movements internally in the data in the last couple of weeks as
they experience in a general election for President in recent memory. If you take
the period for instance from the 16 through the 20 of September our survey results
were on the rise and if you took the period between the 21 and the 24 they were
on the decline and if you go back to the 25 through the 29 or 30 now through this
week they've been on the rise again and that's as the electorate trys to sort
out the election. There are some major things that have taken place starting over
the weekend of over last weekend and through this week and they've been reflected
both in a national data and also in some of our state data. What I'd like to do is
to touch on the national data and then cover two of the states that we can finish
this week in terms of large states perticularly because of all of the confusion
that has been going on about what's happening in the large states. First let me
say that we've conducted about four or five national surveys since the convention
and if we take the three that I think is the most pertinet the end of August and
the beginning of September, then the week the several days preceeding the debate
up until Wednesday night the 23, and the final one being the one that we started
over the weekend and finished on Tuesday. You get the following results and
what I thought I'd do is throw them up on the board for a second. Show you how
sohpisticated we're getting, a little show and tell.....Lack of grace. O.K.
this would be the national in this period September you hit the undecided and
Utall and this is Uncle Youch and guess who that is. Ok, this is Carter, Ford,

CARTER POLL
OCTOBER 3, 1976

undecided, might not vote. These are likely voters who passed the likely voter screen and in this occasion in August the race is 50--39. 9% undecided, it was about 11 points which is about what both Harris and Gallop were showing exactly in that time frame. This is for the 23 through the 25 of August o.k. this is September now. O.k. 20 through the 24 and 5 undecided, who might not vote. This was preceding the debate and this was over the weekend up to Tuesday 51--42. 4 and 3, which is pretty consist with both Harris and it's probabley slightly less than what Gallop will have when he finishes getting all of his interviews in with registered voters. If you look at the pattern of these two weeks there really doesn't appear to be much change but there really was. There was a dip that followed this the stuff we were doing after the debate and then a pick up again. The pick up has been really fueled by what we're getting on the economy. I want to come back to that. You can see the pick up not only in the national figure coming back, 9 points, but in the two states that we've surveyed that we've finished all of the processing in which is Illinois and Michigan. Both states which were surveyed at the beginning of this week and in an effort for us to make some decisions about allocation of resources and we were quite surprised by the results. I thought I'd do a share of those too. This is Michigan, I'll give you Illinois first. This is Illinois. Illinois was originally surveyed in early September, September 3 and then surveyed again on September 28. On September 3, the race, and we think these figures were slightly more Republican than they should have been at that time, 48 Ford, 39 Carter, 12 Undecided, 2 might not vote. There was a 500 interview sample. Then on the 28th, we did a 750 interview sample and we found these numbers 47, 45, 6, 2 in terms of the movement. Now in Michigan the results went this way. On September 2, also in a 500 interview sample, the results were Carter 42, Ford 47, 8 undecided, 3 might not vote. We were 5 points behind. With a fairly small undecided. Detroit News showed it 7 with about a 30 undecided. On September 29, with a 700 interview sample the results were almost with the national was--51--42--5 and --2. The interesting thing was the internal

CARTER POLL
OCTOBER 3, 1976

consistance of the data, not only in terms of the demographic but also in terms of the other races, the Senate race in Michigan for instance the Congressional voting race and so forth almost only a couple of points almost exactly statistically the same as they have been before, the only thing showing any major change at all being the Presidential figures. Now, it's obviously quite a substancial change and we were surprised. We through... let me explain a little about the national survey. What it was was a thousand interview panel. We re-interviewed 1000 people we had interviewed in their homes people we had interviewed in their home during our period of field service so we're trying to measure the factors that were causing change. What I'd like to show you was what happened in the period of a three week period really focusing on this last weeks national survey in terms of attitude questions. We've found a basic two step process in terms of the effect on changing or moving the electorate. It's gone somewhat like this in terms of comparatives between the candidates. In questions that have to do with managing the economy and inflation, those two questions together have the greatest impact on moving a third question which is who was closest to me on the issues. Closest to me on the issues is the comparative question that most closely correlates with vote, both in this campaign and most campaigns we've ever done and that's the one that's moving and I'll show you. These are the only three that we saw substancial movement. What I'm going to do is give you those three and then give you two others that show you how little movement there was in the other areas. If you take first on who can best manage the economy what you have was and we'll go back to that late August survey as well, September 20--24 and September ---- this is nationwide. Carter Ford Carter Ford, Carter Ford and there is a choice who can better manage either one both or neither or whatever and I'll just give you the relative two candidate figures, In August it was 39-30 Carter over Ford, at that point we enjoyed about 11 point margin. By September 20-24, the figure was down to, hold it I've boo bood, not unusual.

CARTER POLL
OCTOBER 3, 1976

This is 45--40 on best managed the economy. And then it went in this period September 20--24 it went to 45--43 and then over the weekend it went to this -- 48--43 no wrong again, 50--38 on who can better manage the economy from a +2 margin to a +12 which was fairly substantial. On the question of inflation, who can best handle inflation, that figure has been this in August it was 33--34. Ford Having a one point advantage. In this period it was 34-34, then last week it jumped to this 46-36. Now as I said, those two fuel close to me on the issues, who's closest to you on the issues, which is the one which correlates strongest with voting. Close to me on the issues started out 39-30 when we had a 11 point lead. It then went to 40--35 when we had a 7 point lead and it has now moved to 48--33 to 15 points in the space of a week. Now that movement, that margin is greater than the vote margin and our expectation was on Monday that if that was correct, we'd start seeing it reflected in the states, which clearly it is, I mean it seems to be, in all of the things that we have been doing this week. Now, let me give you two to show you how consistent the other things are. One the question of who was most concerned about people like me, and I'll just give you the last two on this, a week ago the week of the 20--24 it was 40--20 and it only went to 44--20, a relative 4 point gain. One the one on who can make the federal government more responsive to ordinary people the margin went only two points change from 57--27 to 59--25, loss for Ford. Relative small most of the agree--disagree statements stayed the same. The only other thing that changed appreciative in the national was Fords job rank and the vote if it correlates anything involving the candidates correlates most to the President's job rating. I think you'll heard that from other pollsters as well but on Fords job rating, just giving you the positives and the negatives, on overall jobs and economy the first week, September 20--24 his job rating was 45 positive 55 negative. It then went down to 43 positive 57 negative, two point movement each way. His economic job rating which in the 20--24 was 33--65 positive--negative, dropping 4 points 29--69 and that seemed to correlate

CARTER POLL
OCTOBER 3, 1976

-5-

the strongest. Now, we went back and ran a whole series of regression analysis and I don't want to get through all of the theory on it because we could spend all day and night on that but what the regression analysis is an effort, it's originally an economic tool, to help try and decide to determine dependant and independant variables it's a further process of computer analysis which allows us to wait and check factors and run them against each other to see what is dependant and what is independant. What's come out over the last week in terms of the ranking of significant factors goes like this and I will not try and explain the differences but the first thing that ranks first is your perception of Ford's performance, not only his job rating but also his competence, leadership, a scale of about eight or nine questions, where you position yourself on that, and the way you change your perception on that scale is the first influence on vote. Very close to it is your perception of Carters expected performance, his perception of being confident, his ability to do the job, provide leadership, vision etc. Following third is very close to the candidate. This was a surprise to us is the economic issue. It really jumped up from July and I've never seen an issue ranks as close to the candidates really competent factors in national politics as we see now and the issue stands only about a fraction below the impact of both candidates so the change in the perception of the economy is having a far greater impact than say foreign policy which ranks very very low at the bottom along with most other issues. The fourth thing is party and the final two are Trust Carter, Trust Ford, the trust scales which will relatively balance each other out, they are fairly low because of the fairly positive feeling on both. You can see that the economy seems to have moved itself up and it's having an impact you can see the change here on manage and inflation then it changed being on the issues which has the greatest impact on both, moved us back up from what I suspect was a margin perhaps around 5 points around last week back up to about 9 and then it seems at least I think that it's still going at least the

CARTER POLL
OCTOBER 3, 1976

state stuff here still indicates that it is going and the preliminary hand counts that I've seen ... data processing on some of the other big states, particularly Pennsylvania and Texas would suggest the same thing and so what it looks like is we have had a fairly explosive week or ten days and it seems to be hinged around the economy to some extent, maybe a little bit around Ford's problems but more than anything else around the economy itself and the consumer perception of that I suspect as well as the performance in terms of the economy as it is being related by the government so as I said it's been very volatile. We've had a period from the 16-- to the --20 it was an up period and then we had a down period and now we're having another up swing period. Let's see how it sustains itself, but that's been a fairly significant thing and I wanted to introduce because I think it's important to get some sense of what's happening and we've done those two states first because they were our two worst states in September and we had expected that we might have to make certain kinds of allocation decisions in terms of states and efforts and so forth and in terms of the amount of efforts that we could make and we were going into both of those states fairly pessimistically this week until we got these results. In other words, the big states, the big industrial states that we were looking at, they ranked at the bottom in early September both in pre and in post labor day. The interviews identified themselves from Cambridge Survey Research and doing a public research survey, a standard introduction that we use all of the time.

QUESTION: : YOU MUST HAVE MOVED DOWN SOMEWHERE?

No, No, I'm saying that these state surveys post the nationals. Our national survey is finished on Tuesday morning, really Monday night, or Tuesday morning. That shows the nine point margin. What I'm saying is that these are post fact. Whatever the period, Illinois and Michigan were not started until Tuesday and Michigan was started on Wednesday. What I'm saying is that all of the national

CARTER POLL
OCTOBER 3, 1976

done, Harris, Gallop, ours, all preceed the state figures. I wanted to do it in terms of verifying the national data. For instance, we went in and looked at the debate question, on who made the best case on presenting the first debate, and our figures on our national, which is a little later, are probably the worst. It's 40--23 Ford over Carder on who won the debate and it seems that the further that you get away from the debate the worst we seem to do as far as public percpiation of it but the lesser impact that it is sorta having. But in any event, I meant to introduce that figure to really give some vality I think to the 9 point national servey figures, but most of the other figures didn't change very much. The questions on the attitude of the candidates, well to comparisons, agree disagrees, open end statements, very little change except those things having to do with the economy and it would seem to be an upshot in the economic issue itself. Well what you have in the debate, Ford's voters people voting for Ford pick Ford the winner in the margin of our survey of 71 to 7 and our voters picked us in the margin of 41 to 12 or 13 and the undecides were about 22 to 11. So what's happening is the margin is being made up in part by how many of the Ford voters, and I said this prior to the debate, that the normal pattern of studying the 60's debate and the other debates was that they didn't seem to have much impact on converting votes. The major inpact seemed to be in solitifying a candidates vote ... perception and the public didn't really go into it as a real strength compared between changing their minds and it was more of a reenforcing vehicle instead of a conversion vehicle and there was very little conversion movement out of the debate. We show very little, the New York Times showed very little in their servey at the end of the week and as I said it has nothing to do with the debate it seems to have to do with the economy and that's particully true in Michigan, How much of that has sustained itself if the strike is settled I don't know but the economic mood in Michigan has changed dramically from the beginning of the month to the end

OCTOBER 3, 1976

of the month. Well, it's very important how people perceive the economy and what's happening to it. It's having a tremendous affect not so much on Governor Carter as it seems to be on President Ford. Let me answer that one point. We said along that one of the jobs for us during the first part of this campaign was to draw distinction between what Republicans were saying and what their record actually was and it seems to me at that distinction with the air of the economy has begun to come through. I think those of you who were with us during the past week or so know that we spent a great deal of time talking about that. I think that what we're saying is beginning to be heard there in the country. It also seems to me that one of the interesting data is that despite some rather sensational developments in both camps over the several week or ten days that the people contrary to what we see written are infact making up their minds on important issues and that they are in effect looking at the economy and other things, perticularly the economy and deciding what they are going to vote based on what they see. On the states so far, the percentages change has been about 10 points on moving from either getting better to staying the same to getting worse from earlier in the month. Well, in terms of what seems to be the movement factor, I mean candidates themselves the perception of the candidates has the tremendous impact where people start but in terms of marginal difference it seems to be coming it seems to be the single largest item. There are obviously some other factors and items in there candidates campaigns, issues that pop up, controvisies whatever else. What I'm saying is that the center piece of it seems to be the economy. No these are in the two states. I don't have it nationwide. I don't have the exact ones with me, David. It tended to be like 4 and 6 or 5 and 5 from getting better to staying the same just to getting worse.

QUESTION: WHY DID THE ECONOMY JUMP UP TO A CLOSE THIRD??

CARTER POLL
OCTOBER 3, 1976

Well, it's not that in the order of the finish but how close it is to the candidates that is surprising. I don't know obviously if that's something. I don't know. I tend to down play economic news on the impact of consumers. But you did have two major stories on the economy that the number of people that moved to the poverty level and the impact on real wages and the second thing you had the decline of the leading indicators, both were big stories but most consumer attitudes tend to come from consumers own perceptions and we don't have alot of our consumer data...The spending patterns have been fairly constant since they started off very strong this year and they sort of drop some in the spring and most retail sales are fairly level. It's hard to tell. We didn't really see much significant change from the 7.9 figure came out. It has allways been my argument that it's less than the public figures on than what the public perception is. I suppose it depends partly on the attention and how much got factored into the electorate's thinking. The electorate tends to make most of its decisions about what's happening in the economy from their consumer patterns and behavior not from government statistics. It's certainly inflation if you take the August data that we have nationally that we have inflation was the larger concerned for a greater number of people, although people concerned about unemployment tend to be fairly intense greater and greater intensy in their concern. One of the things that seems to be changing in the last week on the open ended issue stuff, and I don't want to make a comment about it until I see some more of the bigger states, but in it the people citing unemployment rather than inflation, the proportion seems to be declining, that's there's a higher movement in unemployment but that may just be a quick and I don't want to get hell for that yet.

QUESTION: IN ERIE COUNTRY, THE BUFFALO... SHOWED FORD 6 POINTS AHEAD, IN POLLS TAKEN IT SHOWS THAT FORD LEADS CARTER 44 to 38 IN CONNECTICUT. WOULD YOU COMMENT ON THOSE QUESTION PLEASE:::

CARTER POLL
OCTOBER 3, 1976

Yes, I'll comment on the state surveys. Our figures in Connecticut don't, the last figures in Connecticut don't match those figures. They are also showing a higher undecided than we're showing. So I don't know how to explain it. We're due in Connecticut again later this week and so we'll take another look at it. The last time was about 3 weeks ago. Well, I am saying that I don't have any current data to back that up either way.

QUESTION: DOES THIS MEAN THAT YOUR GOING TO PUT MORE MONEY INTO ILLINOIS???

Well, I think that is a decision that Hamilton would have to speak to if he were here. It's a question of trying to get some priority in the states and clearly that movement even if it declines somewhat is encouraging and I would assume that they will be reflected in the amount of efforts, portion efforts that we make. I mean that we're making efforts everywhere.

Jimmy Carter
October 11, 1976

Wisconsin Airfax CIO Convention

Oakliffe, Wisconsin

Eau Claire

Eau Claire

.....this is my third trip to ~~Oakliffe~~ since I began campaigning for President.

I had the good fortune to be on the same platform with _____ when I came here. He's _____ Democratic Congressman and women who ought to be retiring from office have offered to help me next January ... and I hope you will..... and I'm sure that many of you have read objectives, and I feel you've been very wise the political analyses that came forward two or three years ago when the major news reporters in Washington said who are the two or three people in our nation who ought to be President if they would run, and Gaylord Nelson is always at the top of the list..... But I'm looking forward to working with you when I get to Washington, I want you to help me to be a good President if I'm elected. Let me say this to all of you, this has been a very exciting, a tough, very combative; so far, a very successful campaign.

I believe that some very sharp issues have been drawn between Mr. Ford and me. I think we have so far avoided the personal attack that would have taken away the interest of people and issues the public like. Sometimes we both made mistakes, as you may have noticed..... I was in a church in Cleveland, Ohio the other night and there was a very exciting rally going on there and a fellow in the church got up and said, Jerry Ford has always been a man who said, I say what I mean and I mean what I say, and he said, the last few days he has been trying to explain what he meant when he said what he said..... and I think this is part of the process of trying to determine the sensitivities of the people who might be your nation

who might affect your life. Mr. Ford's statement about Eastern Europe, having showing a insensitivity about Europe, and about _____ freedom.

What I'd like to talk with you about this afternoon about the insensitivity of _____ Administration. For the last eight years, toward you, your family, and the people who look to you for leadership, this Ford Administration has given up the first two hundred billion dollar budget, the first three hundred billion dollar budget, the first four hundred billion dollar budget, double inflation. the

highest unemployment rate in 35 years, a energy crisis that and let's make sure that we don't have another one. The highest interest rate in the history of our country; the highest budget deficit last year in the history of our country; the near bankruptcy of our nation's largest city; and in the last two years the statistics really hurt our country. Since Richard Nixon left the White House and Gerald Ford moved in, we have had two and half million more Americans unemployed and after three months alone five hundred thousand American families have joined the unemployment rolls.

In September the economic index moved back at 11% inflation rate, and that combined with a general sense of the loss of the American spirit that has really hurt the working people of our country. Now the statistics bear up that human beings, families, neighborhoods that have been torn apart by this new development of the American scene that we haven't known since the days of the Hoover Depression, it really hurts a family for the mother or father to have been employed for fifteen or twenty years to move their jobs, drawn unemployment compensation, and stand for the first time in their lives to stand in a welfare line. It does something to an able-body person who wants to work, and I believe in work, I've worked all my life; and I believe that everybody who is sensitive should be able to work, should also have a chance to work; and one of the major responsibilities I will undertake next January with your help is to put American people back to work with responsible jobs
.....

and Gaylord Nelson are trying, All the bills by the Democratic Party in the last two years Mr. Ford has vetoed two million jobs for American people; and these job opportunities were well within the Congressional Budget limitation, which is very strict. The Republicans have always approached these kinds of problems by saying the best way about the Budget, the best way to control inflation, is to have a certain portion of our people out of work so they can't compete for goods that might be scarce and drop the inflation costs. The Democrats have always looked on it

just the opposite--we believe that if people are working our country is strong enough, our Gross National Product people pay taxes, we can balance the budget, meet our peoples' needs and spirit that comes from prosperity keeps our families together, keeps our neighborhood strong.

Some of you are as old as I am and you'll remember the elder Democratic concepts.

The first was 1932 when I was eight years old. I lived on a farm until I was 17. I didn't have running water until I was 14. I've worked all of my life. I have enjoyed it. It hasn't hurt me. But there was a chance then because Hurbert Hoover said that the government has no role to play in putting people back to work. Franklin Roosevelt, a rich man, had been handicapped by polio and he understood people who were handicapped by economic pressure and he put forward the concept of a minimum wage and over 90 percent of the Republicans in the Congress voted against paying 25¢ an hour for an adult man or woman to work manual labor. My first job was 40¢ an hour. Roosevelt felt that old people ought to have a sense of security so he put forth the concept of social security. There were 95 Republicans in the House of Representatives; 94 voted against social security. And then came along Harry Truman, a common man, but he was an uncommon leader. There was never any doubt that Harry Truman was the President. When we made a mistake in this country Harry Truman took the blame for it. When we had a success you knew who made the final decision for it. He had a strong Secretary of State, Dean Axtor, George Marshall. But the Marshall plan, aid to Turkey and Greece, Nato, Point 4, all came by decisions of Harry Truman. He never evaded responsibility. He had a sign on his desk. Does anybody remember what it said??? The buck stops here. Nowadays the buck can run all over Washington looking for a place to stop. There is no place to stop. When I'm elected I'm going to put the sign back on the desk and if you visit the Oval Office, and I hope that many of you will, there is going to be a sign right there that says, The Buck Stops Here, because I want the people to know who's responsible if we get into a secret war. I want the people to know whose responsible if a lie is told. I want the people to know whose responsible if the

Jimmy Carter
October 11, 1976
Wisconsin Airfax CIO Convention
Oakclare, Wisconsin

C.I.A. violates the law if the reputation of the F.B.I. is damaged or our people don't have adequate opportunity for jobs or there is no management in the federal bureaucracy. I want you to know who's responsible. Another point that I want to make is this. We had John Kennedy come along in 1960 and he was followed by Lyndon Johnson and there was a sense then that people who were poor, people who were black, who were illetrate, who were not powerful, who were older or inscure had a friend in the White House. There was a sense that the country was moving forward. John Kennedy brought us a sense of idealism and hope and high standards of excellance and greatness and we all felt alittle better because of it. That we had a government that we could look up to, not down upon, a government that was a source of pride, not shame. It's only been in the last eight years or so that we have been ashamed of our government. The American people are good, honest, decent, unselfish, hard working. You in this room didn't decide to bomb Cambodia, or to disgrace the White House with Watergate or to see the F.B.I or the C.I.A. lose its perfessional reputation, but it happened in your government. That need not be, but it has been. I'm running for President, I don't intend to lose but it's your country just as much as it is mine and I hope that everyone of you in the next three or four weeks will think about how much difference in your lives and in your children's lives is made by the identity of the President. Now I don't claim to know all of the answers, I'm a human being just like you. I started my campaign 21 months ago. I didn't hold public office. I didn't have much money. I didn't have a nationwide campaign organization. Not many people knew who I was, I'll bet that now one in one thousand knew who I was. I come from a little town 683 people but I did just like you would do if you wanted to be President. I and my wife and my children began going with a few volenteers from one house to another and we would invite the whole neighborhood in and maybe three people would show up. We would go to a labor hall that would hold 200 or 300 folks maybe 12 people would come. So we began to walk the streets, barber shops, beauty parlors, livestock sales barns, factorship lines, county court houses, city halls to shake hand s with people, to talk with people a little but to listen alot and as you well know in

Jimmy Carter
October 11, 1976
Wisconsin Airfax CIO Convention
Oakclare, Wisconsin

Wisconsin and other states, I've never depended on the powerful, bigshots, political, figures to put me in office, many of them very popular, very good, very sound, my friends, but my campaign was always directed to you and the people who work along side you and we built up a political strength and that's what makes me hopeful that next January I can be a good President. I still will not know all of the answers but I will have available to me the experience, the intelligence, the sound judgment the common sense, the self confidence, the patrisom, of the American people and what I want to do is to have a government that is as good as you are. I don't believe that you want anything selfish out of government. You'd like to have a tax structure that treats you fairly. The present income tax structures are a disgrace to the human race. The surest income to be taxed is the income from manuel labor. There are not any hidden secret loop holes for someone who draws a paycheck every two weeks or a retirement check every two weeks but there are hidden secret loopholes for everyone else. In the last reporting period there were 3200 people in this country that made over 50,000 dollars in one year and didn't pay a nickel in income tax. Over 800 made a 100,000 dollars, 244 made over 200,000 dollars in one year and paid no income taxes. When they don't pay their income taxes, do you know who pays it for them?? You do. What we need is a comprehensive revision of our income tax laws to make them simple and fair for a change and if I'm elected President we're going to have that next year and you can depend on that. I also don't believe in waste. I've had to make a living farming, growing peanuts and then I went into the Governor's office I always had a balenced budget. In my family life, on my farm, in my little business, I was Governor for four years, I had a balenced budget and a surplus and I intend before the first four years are over of this next administration to have a balenced budget for the United States. I believe that we need it and it can come without cheating people of what there needs might be. Harry Truman was in office seven years, he didn't have a deficit. He had an averaged surplus of 2 billion dollars. When the Kennedy and Johnson administrations were all gone and the Richard Nixon took office we didn't have a deficit. Richard Nixon inherited a balenced budget but it was based on the

Jimmy Carter
October 11, 1976
Wisconsin Airfax CIO Convention
Oakclare, Wisconsin

proposition that if people are at work their needs can be met by government and the budget need not be a deficit budget. We're now going in the hole a billion dollars every week. We need a efficient government. I reorganized the Georgia Government as has been done in Wisconsin. We had 300 agencies and departments when I was elected Governor. We abolished 278 of them. We set up a simple structure that not only saved alot of money but let the people understand for a change and control it for a change. It eliminated alot of those secret caves where special interest can hide and let the people feel that this is my government and it is fair to me. And I have promised people all over this country on my word of honor that if I'm elected President we're going to have a complete reorganization of the Executive Branch of Government by making it efficient, economical, manageable, and purposeful for a change and if I'm elected I'm going to do it and you can depend on that to. I just want to mention two or three things briefly and then I'll close. It took our country 70 years to reach the point where half of the American families could afford to buy their own homes and in the last eight years, Nixon and Ford have destroyed that achievement. Now less than a third can afford their own homes. Last year we had 1.2 million homes built in this country. We have not had that few of number since 1940. The average cost of a home in the last eight years has gone up 16,000 dollars and the interest rates have gone up 50 percent. The monthly payments have more than doubled and we need a comprehensive program. It will not cost much money to guarantee mortgages, to supplement monthly payments when the interest rates are very high, to restore some rent homes for places for all of the people to live, and to put our construction workers back to work. The unemployment rate there is over 20 percent. I can't think of any single industry that can be stimulated more by less money from the taxpayers than the housing industry. We need a nationwide comprehensive health care system and this can be phased in without costing much more money. Do you know how much the average American family will spend on health care, 2400 dollars. 600 dollars for every man, woman, and child in this country. More than any other nation in the world. But we still don't have good prevention of disease and we can have that with expanded persons to take care of your health, keep a close

Jimmy Carter
October 11, 1976
Wisconsin Airfax CIO Convention
Oakclare, Wisconsin

relationship between private doctors and patients. Let the public and the private insurance agencies combine their efforts and give us an emphasis on health care for those who don't now have it. This is a goal that our country can reach and with the last remaining developed country who doesn't have a comprehensive health care system for our people. The last point that I want to make is this. In the last eight years our people have been deeply hurt. Our conscious about what our country is has been damaged. Always up until Nixon took office we were proud of our government, what it was, what it was striving to be. But later there has been a wall built around Washington that we can't quite penetrate and I'm an outsider I've never served in Washington but I know the hunger that exists in the hearts and the minds of the American people not to be ashamed anymore and have the truth told in the future, and let us control our own government and let our own personal privicay be protected. These are things that are there waiting to be achieved but you have got to have some realization that the President and the Members of Congress serve exactly the same people. President Ford, Richard Nixon sealed off the White House. They destroyed the bi-partison nature of support for foreign policy and also for domestic policy and mostly Mr. Ford has tried to blame the Congress ahead of time for mistakes that were made in the Executive Branch of Government. There needs to be a meeting of minds, there needs to be mutual respect, and there needs to be constant consultation, and there needs to be cooperation because if I'm elected President, I and Galord Nelson, and Pat Lisbe, and Al ... , and your mayor and county officials who represent you and it doesn't help you and your family for us to be squabbling with one another. That needs to be restored and it can be. I need you help. It's not an easy thing for someone like myself, a relative newcommer on the political scene, to defeat an incumbant President with all of the power of the White House who's refused to face the people, who hasn't had a full scale White House Press Conference since last February, who will not answer questions that he raised in the debate.....

10/13/76

TO: RON NESSEN

FROM: FRED SLIGHT

For your information

October 11, 1976
Jimmy Carter
Cooke County Democratic Party Leaders
Chicago

..... thank you, thank you very much

I want you to save some of your energy, enthusiasm.....all for the next four weeks. As a matter of fact, as the mayor was talking in his customary quiet and analytical tones, I thought about the comparisons between my part of the nation and Chicago... we did vote for Al Smith in 1928..... when.... there was a great prediction when the south would never vote for a Catholic candidate for President; we voted for Roosevelt in '32, and '36, '40 and '44...we voted for Truman in '48; we voted for Aladie Stevenson in '52..... we voted for Aladie Stevenson.....and in 1956 we didn't vote for Eisenhower, we voted for Stevenson again, and we know what it means to put our dependence on the Party that derives its strength directly from the people. I think you've observed my campaign for the last two years and its strength and its success has come directly from the people. I believe in typed, carefully organized, political, organi....political structures. We began to plan our campaign four years and one month ago in September 1972 and we made our organizational structure as clear as possible to all those who advise with me and then about two years ago I began to campaign again full time....it wasn't an accident. We organized very carefully..... and instead of our... we thought we'd come in first or second..... at first ... and we organized very carefully and meticulously in the State of New Hampshire..we thought we might come in first or second...we came in first. I and my people, and even the folks in Georgia visited 95% of all the Democratic homes in the State of New Hampshire. I don't think anybody ever did that before. At first we met an almost impossible situation in Florida... George Wallace having been an overwhelming favorite. But we thought we'd put together the best organization in Florida has ever done; even the candidate for governor...and we came in first in Florida; and we didn't have that good an organization in Ohio, Pennsylvania, but we did well there. But I know the importance of a Democratic organization; and

also know that there can be no continuing structure without confidence of the voters in the Democratic leaders. You only have to betray the trust of the people in a home or block, or ward, one time; and the organization is gone and what is good about Chicago and its political organization structure is that the votes have been forthcoming for the Democratic Party....yes, because the Democratic Party is best for its people, but also because Mayor Daley, and all of you, have arise the continued sense of trust among the people who look to you for political leadership. It was a difficult thing, I know, in 1972 when because of the and the new laws and the Democratic Party excluded you from participation at the Convention itself, but you came back home and you remembered our Party and your loyalty to it, and you asked the people to vote for George McGovern and you did, and you didn't vote for Richard Nixon, but they would never have followed your leadership there if you had batted your own integrity of principles of our Party. I feel a great responsibility on my shoulders....to many people who had confidence in me twenty-one months ago in those early stages when no one knew who I was or cared, and I'll never forget the morning after ...the primary when I had won and I had read in the paper tentatively that Mayor Daley said that if Ohio went for so, of course, I never doubted his word, but I thought the next morning I'd give him a telephone call to just make sure that his memory wasn't faulty..... and I said, Mayor Daley I know you haven't come out with an open commitment of support to me but we did well in Ohio... and he said, Jimmy, I know it, and I said I'd like to make some statement in about a half an hour I have a press conference schedule ... just some indication of your friendship to me; and he said, I'll tell you what you can say to the news media..... you tell 'um that I'm for ya..... And you tell 'um I'll use whatever small influence I have on Illinois to get them to be for you; and he said, you tell 'um also when you get to the Convention that I'll do the best I can to get you the nomination and after you get the nomination I'll do the best I can to get you elected President, and after you're elected President I'll do the best I can to help you to

be a good President....and he said, is that enough. And I say, yes sir, that's enough..

..... About that time I had about twelve hundred delegate commitments and in four or five days I had seventeen hundred; and I think that this solidity of solidarity has come to the Democratic Party in the last few weeks is one that will stand us in good stead, not to just achieve victory for myself and all these good candidates standing behind me on the platform but also to let the people in this country realize that a sense of unity has been absent so long...we've been torn apart in the last eight years. We've had our confidence in our leaders betrayed and many Americans have said, I don't want anything to do with the political process any more. I've lost my job, the inflation has robbed my family, or I don't have good health care, or the system of justice doesn't treat me as an equal, and I don't think the income tax structure has built into it an adequate attention of the working people of this country, and I've been doubtful about the statement of our leaders of our country in foreign affairs....I don't know quite what's going on in the Congress and the President can't communicate with one another; and we've seen a great betrayal of trust in the Watergate, in the CIA violated the law, and the FBI used to have the staunchest possible professional reputation and now has been shaken. What's going on in my own government? Well, that feeling I can understand it; but my own campaign and your commitment to the Party would give us a mechanism by which we can restore our people's confidence in our own government. Figuring out the government...who are responsive to the people....the problem is not is that the people don't trust their own government, the problem has been that quite often the leaders of our government haven't trusted people and that's got to be changed... in your job and your commitment, and my hard work and my commitment, and the partnership that we form here in this community, this state, and throughout the country, I think we have an excellent chance to win in November, and I think we have an excellent chance to repair the damage that has been done to the consciousness and the spirit of our country. I hope to be an inspirational leader as well as John

Kennedy in 1960. I hope to be a touch manager that brings us out of the debts of a recession as Franklin Roosevelt did in the Hoover Depression Years, and I hope to be the kind of leader that you can always find who assume responsibility as was the case with Harry Truman...you never had to search to see who the President was; and I hope to be the kind of leader who is concerned with basic human rights, freedom, and equality as was exemplified by Lyndon Johnson. I'm not a perfect person, I've got a lot of false of my own, but to the extent that I can practice perfection and the commitment and the idealism and the hope and the patriotism, and the common sense of the American people....to that extent I can overcome my own handicaps and difficulties and weaknesses and be the kind of President that I know you want. I'll do the best I can. I know you'll do the best you can for me, for others...behind me, and throughout the country, who are running of the Democratic Party. I want to do a good job and I bet together we can do it.

Thank you very much.....

Date Transcribed: October 14, 1976 -1-
Somewhere in the U.S.
Jimmy Carter

Under Nixon and Ford, the system of Federalism has been destroyed and there has been very little consultation and cooperation and a mutuality of purpose in our systems of government. Also our people have been excluded from the process of making some basic decisions. Every time that we've made a serious mistake in foreign or domestic affairs it's been because the American people have been held at arms length. We've not been part of the process that decided to bomb Cambodia. We've not been part of the process to disgrace the White House. We've not been part of the process to let government agencies responsible for security, assassinations and murder. We've not been part of the process to build up an unfair tax structure or destroy the effectiveness of a good health care system. We've not been part of this process. But if you help me in November I guarantee you that next January the people of this will be part of this process and we'll correct our mistakes, bind ourselves together to approach the future with confidence in one another. A lot of people say that it is not possible to put our people back to work and to control inflation at the same time. This is not true. The Republicans have always looked on the cause of inflation as too much demand for goods and so they have corrected this by increasing payroll taxes so that people don't have quite as much to spend and by raising interest rates so people can't borrow to buy goods, to buy a house, to buy a automobile. The Democrats believe the opposite. Let me give you a few examples from history and these are all exactly right. Harry Truman was in office seven years. He didn't have an average deficit, he had an average surplus of 2 billion dollars per year. Even in 1950, when he went out of office the unemployment rate was less than 3 percent. The inflation rate was less than one percent. The interest on a F.H.A. home, 4 percent. When Johnson and Kennedy were in office, the average inflation rate, 2 percent. When Johnson went out of office, the unemployment rate 3.3 percent and Richard Nixon inherited from the Democrats a balanced budget. But the Democrats have always believed that you can't control runaway inflation, you can't have a balanced

Jimmy Carter

budget, you can't meet the needs of our people unless the American people have jobs and I promise that when I'm elected President, and I intend to be, that we're going to put our people back to work as a number one priority . . . , control inflation. We now have 7 and 1/2 or 8 million people. The unemployment rate nationwide is about 8 percent and in your own community it's about 1 percent higher than that, among construction workers I would say about 25 percent, among young black workers and young people who speak Spanish I would say maybe 40 percent. This is not part of the character of the American people of our government. We have the highest unemployment rate of any developed country in the world, even higher than Great Britian, higher than Germany, twice as high as Italy, three for four times as high as Japan. We can afford to put our people back to work without feeling the great pressures of inflation because 27 percent of our industrial capacity is not even being used and at least 8 percent of our people who have given up hope, are looking for jobs and can't find them. We need to target employment opportunity by concertrating on what is called countracepical help to make sure that the job opportunities are made available where the need is greatest and then when the unemployment comes down in that community you shift the opportunity somewhere else. We need to concreate jobs in the private sector because they are permanent, they are non-inflationary and also our money can go alot further. We need to revitalize the housing industry. We need to make sure that we realize that the expected rise in property taxes has been brought on by two major factors. One is that our people are not working, unemployment compensation and welfare have gone up sky high.. Since the Republicans have came in office for instance the unemployment compensat have been multiplied 700 percent. The number of people on welfare has doubled. This creates a great burden on local property tax payers. An inflation rate at the present rate would cause a doubling in the price of all goods every 6 or 7 years. That means that no matter how carefully managed locally governments are, property taxes raise very rapidly. This has got to be controled. This

Jimmy Carter

is a sign for a need for good management. Let me say this to you in closing. This election is a key one as was the case in 1932 when Roosevelt ran against Hoover and as was the case in 1948 when Harry Truman won his election and as was the case in 1960 when John Kennedy restored the image of this country by defeating Richard Nixon. 1976 is another very important election year because we've suffered now through eight years of Republican mismanagement. I hope that all of you will remember this. I'm running for President but it is just as much your country as it is mine and if there are things about our nation that you don't like, if we have some mistakes that you don't want to see made again, if we have had difficult questions that have not been adequately answered, if you feel the need for unity.....

NO MORE OF THE SPEECH ON THE TAPE.

- | -

Jimmy Carter
October 14, 1976
Rochester New York

Thank you very much, Mayor..., Vice Mayor..., all of the great distinguished members on the platform but especially you people in the audience who gave me such a tremendous victory in the primary and who I believe are going to give me an equal victory on November 2. Is that correct? As you all know for the last twenty one months I have campaigned around the country to get to know you, to let you know me,.... what our country is and what our country ought to be. This has been a very exciting campaign for me and I have learned first hand about the devastating blows that have been with this country by this Republican Administration. In the last two years alone, since Richard Nixon left the White House, we've seen 2 and 1/2 million Americans become unemployed. In the three months, 500,000 more American families have gone on the welfare rolls and we've seen a great damage done to this country...with inflation which has now reached... September figures the doubt digit levels, 11 percent per year... the wholesale price index. We've also seen a breakdown in the proper relationship that ought to exist between us and our government in Washington. There has been kind of a wall built around Washington and we can't quite get through. We've been held at arms length, we've been ignored, we've been excluded from the decision making process and this has hurt our government because when the people's voice cannot be heard, that's when our government makes mistakes and as you know in the aftermath of Vietnam, Cambodia, Chile, Packasion, Angolia, C.I.A., Watergate, F.B.I., we feel that the Americans that we have lost something precious that used to be ours, that is a belief that our government cares about us and a belief that we can understand and control our government. That's what this election is all about. I believe that it is a time for a change in the White House in Washington. Now it's easy to ... us big figures, 2 and 1/2 million, 500,000, but what hurts is when those unemployment statistics and inflation figures are translated into how they affect human lives. It's a devastating blow when a man or woman is at a job for the last ten or fifteen years to lose a job, to start drawing unemployment. In the last eight years,

Jimmy Carter

we've had a 700 percent increase in unemployment compensation payments under Nixon and Ford. It's a bad thing to talk about, inflation rate, because it applies to ... who have savings accounts. If you have a savings account now drawing 5 percent interest, you actually lose six percent a year. It was in the past that you could pay a reasonable amount of property taxes, now you see your property taxes go sky high because the welfare payments have doubled in the last eight years. The Republicans have always felt that when we have inflation the problem was that people had too many jobs, too much money to spend they were demanding more goods, and the prices ... up so what have the Republican always done about it. There has always been a heavier tax load on payroll taxes, they decreased the taxes on corporations while at the same time they've had interest rates go sky high. In the last eight years, we've seen the price of a home go up \$16,000 dollars and the monthly payment on a home have more than doubled. It took us 70 years to get to the point where ^{half} the American families can own their own homes. In the last eight years, under Nixon and Ford, we've seen that record destroyed and less than 1/3 of the American people can afford to buy their own homes. This means that the housing industry has suffered. Last year we only built 1.2 million homes. We haven't built that few homes in this country since 1940 and the reason is that people can't afford anymore to own their own place to live. These factors are not just figures, they affect families and the families in this country are the basis for our society. If a strong family exists, then you can keep government out of our business but when the family structure breaks down, the government has to start doing things that the family ought to do for itself. You have a family destroyed and the neighborhood becomes destroyed and later comes the deterioration and the quality of life and you also have the community lose hope. It's not fair to blame local officials when your property taxes double if the welfare load on you has been increased under a Republican administration and when inflation goes up and houses gets scarce, so what can we do about it? These are ..., that can be done.

Jimmy Carter

In the first place, we'll never have a budget, which I would like to see, we'll never have a control of the inflationary spiral as long as we have 7 and 1/2 or eight million people out of work who are looking for jobs. I've worked all of my life. I believe in hard work. I believe that anybody that is able to work ought to work and ought to have a chance to work and next January when I'm President we're going to put our people back to work. This can be done without massive federal programs. If we guarantee mortgages on homes, this would cut down the 20 percent unemployment in construction industry. We could straighten out our economy. Under President Johnson, President Kennedy even before the Vietnam War we were increasing our economy about 5 or 6 percent a year. Under Nixon and Ford, our economy has only increased only about 2 percent a year. This can be done without inflation to costs. We now only have 73 percent of our industrial capacity being used and we've got almost 8 percent of our people unemployed. We also need to have a reduction in property taxes and we also need to have a fair income tax structure. The present income tax system is a disgrace to the human race. The surest income to be taxed is the income earned from manual labor. There are not any hidden secret loopholes for someone who works every day or draws a paycheck every two weeks or a retirement check every two weeks but there are hidden secret loopholes for everyone else. In the last reporting period, we had 3200 people in this country that made over \$50,000 dollars a year and paid zero income taxes. We had over 800 people who made over 100,000 dollars a year, 240 something people who made over 200,000 income in one year and paid zero income taxes. When they don't pay their income taxes do you know who pays it for them?? You do. We need a comprehensive income tax reform and I intend to be elected in November and if you'll help me next January, we're going to reform our tax structure and make it fair for a change. I want to say this. Any one who works for a living will never have their income taxes raised under my administration.

*and reports
all other
income &
tax purposes*

Jimmy Carter
Rochester, New York

-4-

I'm not going to raise taxes, I'm going to ... out loopholes and I'm going to help all of you and you can depend on that. I come from the South as you know, I've worked all of my life, and I have some concepts about government that I believe are the same that you have here in Rochester. When there is a choice between the federal government doing something and a private individual or private industry doing something the same thing. I think the choice ought to go to the private sector. When there is a choice between secrecy and openness in government, I prefer openness. When there is a choice between personal privacy and the government sticking it's nose in our personal business, I prefer personal privacy. When there is a choice between the Federal, State, and Local levels of government having a responsibility, I believe in giving the responsibility to the government that is closest to the people and when there is a choice between work and welfare, I prefer work. When there is a choice between taxing people who work for a living and giving loopholes to the powerful, I believe in not taxing our working people, but letting everybody... their fair share. We have got to have a return of our government to the people. I'd like to say this too. I don't claim to know all of the answers. Nobody could. I'm an American just like you are who believes in our government, who are not afraid of government, provided it can equal what our people are. Now 21 months ago, when I began to campaign as you know. I did not have a built in campaign organization. I didn't have much money. I didn't hold public office, not many people knew who I was; I bet not one in a thousand of you had ever heard my name. But I began to campaign just like you would if you were to run for public office. My wife and I, my children, and a few volunteers began going from one home to another and we would only meet with 2 or 3 people....,, barber shops and beauty shops, in front of shopping centers, standing in factorship lines, in farmers markets, and we talked a little, but we listened alot. We built our campaign organization on people like you who don't want anything selfish out of

Jimmy Carter
Rochester, New York

government, who just want to be treated fairly, who want the chance to work, and who also want to be treated fairly in taxation, have a good welfare system, who would like to have adequate health care, like to have a good education for your children, who would like to have the chance to own your own home. These are the kinds of things that are fair but have not been part of our lives in the last eight years. Now I'm running against a tough campaigning oponent who quite often have hid himself from the American people. We don't know the answers to alot of questions that have been raised. I don't believe that Eastern Europe is free of Soviet Domination. And I don't believe that we've done enough to cut down the profilatior of atomic weapons all over the earth and I believe that it is a disgrace to our country to have an Arab boycott imposed on Amierican businesses and say if you ... visited Israel or if you have American Jews that own part of your company then you can't do business with us, this is blackmail, it circumvents our Bill of Rights, and it ought not be permitted and I guarantee you that if I'm President, and I intend to be, these things are going to be changed, we're going to have a domestic input.....The last thing that I want to say is this. I need your help. This is a tough campaign. You and I are partners in it. If you believe that your nation can still be great, if you remember the good administrations of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman, of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson and can compare those with the Administrations of Hubert Hoover and Richard Nixon, you know the difference that exists between the Democrat and Republicans. There is alot of difference but the main thing that I remember is that campaign for President is what the President of Notre Dame told me this last Sunday. Someone ask him what are the qualifications to be a good President of the University of a Nation and he said that a wise man several hundred years ago said this, just two words, BE HUMAN, BE HUMAN. I believe that although I don't know all of the

Jimmy Carter
Rochester, New York

answers, as long as I keep my directly with you, my counsel, my criticisms, my support, my courage, ... for my relationship with the people of this country then we can restore that our nation has lost. We can have morality and ethics restored and set a standard of excellence and greatness and tear down the barriers that exist between our government and our people and between the White House and the Congress and realize that the President, the United States Senators, the United States Congress Members, the Governors of States, the Mayors of cities all represent the same people and that's you. There is no reason for our government to be disunited. There is no reason for one American to be put against another. There is no reason for us to be weak economically.... strongest country on earth. We ought to remember to that in the future we need not be afraid. We... hire the unemployed, we do have high inflation, we do have the highest deficit left in the history of our country. We do have the highest interest rates, under this administration, in the last 200 years but at the same time our economic strength is still there, We also have the best system of government on earth. Richard Nixon didn't hurt our system of government, Watergate didn't hurt our system of government, the bombing of Cambodia didn't hurt our system of government, the C.I.A. scandals didn't hurt our system of government. It's still the best on earth. It's clean and decent, it's a basis on which we can predicate answers to complicated questions, correct our mistakes, bind ourselves together and approach the future with confidence and the greatest asset that we have of all is the 215 million Americans still have within us the same hope and dreams and idealisms and patriisms and confidence and ability that has always made our country great. I hope that you will listen very carefully to my to the campaign and also to the debates. Don't believe all of the stories that you hear from my Republican administration, my Republican opposition. If I believed everything that I had heard said about me, I wouldn't vote for

Jimmy Carter
Rochester, New York

myself but I am going to vote for me and I need your support. I need your strength and you and I together can search out the truth, can bind ourselves together in a spirit of hope, anticipation, and confidence and . . . next January that we still live in the greatest nation on Earth, the United States. Are you ready for a change in Washington? Right on,

Jimmy Carter
Queens, New York
October 14, 1976
Democratic Dinner

-1-

Thank you Don, Governor Hugh Carrey, Mayor Abe Beam, our next Senator Pat Moyhanian, Congressman Rosenthal, Congressman Addabbo, many other great leaders here tonight let me say that in 1928 Georgia voted for Al Smith for President of the United States, in 1932, Georgia voted for Franklin Roosevelt, in 1936, Georgia voted for Franklin Roosevelt again, in 1940-1944 Georgia voted for Franklin Roosevelt for President of the United States, in 1976, Georgia is looking for New York to pay us back, ok. About a year ago President Ford was in Eastern Europe and he made some comments there about the strength of the cities in Eastern Europe compared to the strength of New York City. I think what he was thinking was that all of the troops and all of the tanks were the Eastern European City Police but they actually belonged to the Soviet Union but we know now that we have a nation that's ready to support the State of New York, the City of New York and the other great cities of our country and while I'm President you'll never see another headline like this. I've been all over this country in the last 21 months perhaps traveling more than any other human being has ever traveled to seek an elective office in our country and I've talked alot and I've listened alot more. I've learned about our nation and I can tell you that the people of this country still look on New York City as the greatest city on earth and we're going to prove it when I get elected by working with your Mayor, your Governor, your Congressional delegation, your great city leaders to make sure that your strength is tops and that we have an end to the abandonment of our cities in Washington and that we put our shoulders to the wheel and to communicate to one another to cooperate with one another and to correct our defects. We've got along way to go. We need to hold the interest rates on the city bonds. We need to make sure that we don't have an ... of jobs from our urban areas. We need to reconstitute housing programs. We need to control crime. We also need to hold down property taxes. We need to put our people back to work,

Jimmy Carter
Queens, New York
October 14, 1976
Democratic Dinner

-2-

control inflation, all of these things can be done and have been done by Democrats are going to do it again. I just want to say one more thing. A lot of people feel that you can't have our people at work, our budgets balanced, inflation under control, and meet the services that our people deserve, that's not true. As you well know, when Harry Truman was in office the Democrats, working closely, with the Congress, closely with State and City leaders, he was in office for seven years. We didn't have a deficit, we had a surplus of 2 billion dollars. When he went out of office interest rates on a home loan 4 percent, unemployment rate less than 3 percent, inflation rate less than 1 percent. Under Kennedy and Johnson, the average inflation rate was 2 percent, when Johnson went out of office the unemployment rate was 3.3 percent. When Nixon went into office, he inherited a balanced budget. The Democrats have always known that the way you could have a balanced budget, meet our people's needs, control inflationary spirals, is to put our people back to work, that's what we're going to do next January if you help me in November. Thank you very much.